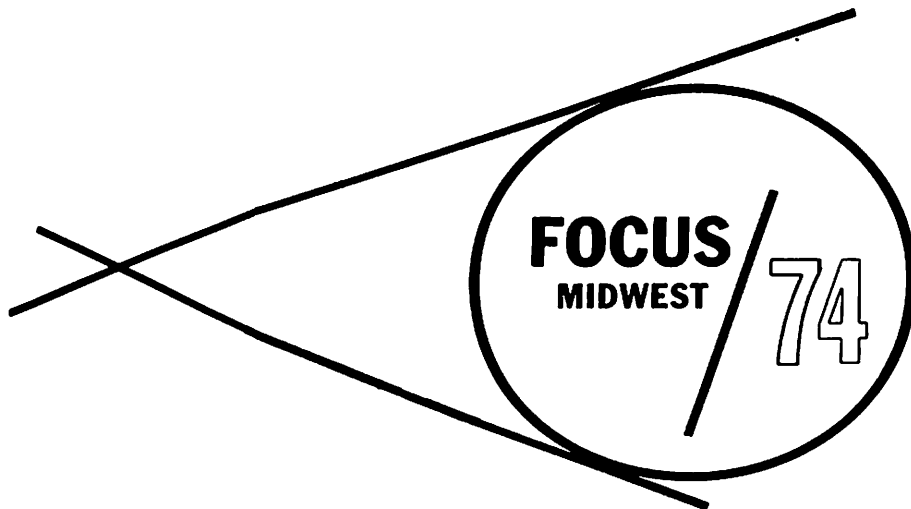


- EDITORIALS

Political
endorsements /
The elusive
Democratic
Party reform /
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for Missouri?

- POEMS

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David Perkins



Election Roundup

Missouri

*Report on senatorial and
congressional races*

Illinois

*Report on senatorial and
congressional races*

Congressional

*Descriptions and up-to-date votes on
key bills before the 93rd Congress (1974)*

OUT OF FOCUS

(Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.)

In Illinois, hunters that are owners or absentee land owners of 40 acres or more, can get a permit and hunt anywhere in the county. A tenant farmer living on 40 or more acres can get a permit to hunt on that farm only — if the owner does not have one.

Chicago Police Supt. James M. Rochford recently declared that policemen should have "faith in Mayor Daley" rather than in collective bargaining to obtain salary increases and better working conditions.

The Organization of Chinese Americans is threatening to sue the downstate Illinois city of Pekin for calling its high school athletic teams "the Chinks." The term has been in use for 30 years and cheerleaders are traditionally dressed as coolies. The Organization says "Chinks" is insulting and derogatory and has asked the Illinois Commission on Human Relations to take the case. "Dragons" was suggested as an acceptable substitute. The Pekin mayor responded that he doesn't see anything derogatory in "Chinks." There are no Orientals living in Pekin.

— Race Relations Report

Manhattan borough president Percy Sutton, a New York black leader told a summer Urban League Convention in San Francisco, "If Jesus Christ were nominated as president and George Wallace as vice president, I would vote against Jesus Christ." State Rep. J.B. (Jet) Banks of St. Louis managed to put the same thought on a nonsectarian basis during a recent Missouri visit by Wallace. Asked what he would do if Wallace were nominate by the Democrats, Banks said: "I would try to draft Richard Nixon. I'd rather go with Nixon than Wallace."

There's a lot of energy behind those golden arches at McDonald's. University of Illinois computer scientist Bruce Hannon estimates that the hamburger chain consumes 3 billion kilowatt hours of electricity per year, or the energy equivalent of 12.7 million tons of coal, or enough electricity to supply the annual needs of Pittsburgh, Boston, Washington, and San Francisco.

In July of this year, 31 spills or accidental discharges of pollutonal materials in waters within or bordering the State of Missouri were reported to the State Clean Water Commission. The commission noted that the average monthly number had been 14 and the previous high for any one month was only 18.

There were 250,000 vacation homes built in the United States during 1973 in comparison with only 200,000 federally subsidized homes for low and moderate-income families.

There's always the feeling that as far as corrupt politics go, the long-suffering city of East St. Louis has seen it all. A new low for the poverty-stricken, southern Illinois river town may have been reached, however, as the result of a federal grand jury investigation of kickbacks by contractors to officials of St. Clair County governmental bodies. The low came when an East St. Louis Board meeting found member Clyde C. Jordan heavily guarded as he sat across the table from board president, Charles E. Merritts, Sr. The guards were presumably to protect Jordan from Merritts who was at the meeting while free on \$100,000 bond on a grand jury indictment charging that he conspired to have Jordan murdered.

U.S. Senator Thomas F. Eagleton declared that he could support Alabama Governor George C. Wallace for President if nominated. Since even the polls of his opponent, Thomas B. Curtis, project that Eagleton would win by a 2 to 1 margin, the statement cannot be explained as a campaign necessity but as a true reflection of the Senator's sentiments.

To the delight of strip mining interests, the Illinois Supreme Court has ruled that counties may not require stricter standards for strip mine reclamation than those legislated by the state.

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Letters

REP. BOLLING CLARIFIES VOTE

F/M: I noted in your Volume 9, Number 62 issue that you have me listed as not voting or otherwise making my position known on several amendments to H. R. 7935, the minimum wage bill (pages 26 and 36).

During the complex debate on this matter, I was requested by the Speaker to preside. In an effort to preside objectively I did not vote on amendments to the bill. I did, however, vote for final passage of minimum wage.

*Richard Bolling
United States Congressman
5th District, Missouri*

COMMENT ON VOTING RECORDS

F/M: I have enjoyed very much your recent edition (Vol. 9, No. 62), particularly the column on Missouri politics.

According to my recollection, one or two of the votes attributed to me are incorrect but I do not have my Journals here at home so I cannot be sure about this.

Be that as it may, I believe there is one misstatement to be found at the bottom of the middle column of page 5. It says there that the Veto Session in an even numbered year starts "on the first Wednesday after the first Friday of the following September." Article III, Section 32 of the Mo. Constitution (as amended Nov. 7, 1972) provides that such a session will convene "on the first Wednesday following the first Monday in September" (italics added). We will therefore reconvene this year on Sept. 4 and not on Sept. 11 as would be the case if your version is accurate.

This is admittedly a small point but I thought you might welcome my bringing it to your attention.

*George K. Hoblitzelle
Missouri Representative
75th District*

(Editor's Note: We have rechecked all of Representative Hoblitzelle's votes as recorded in the House Journals and found that they were correctly recorded.)

MOST WELCOME

F/M: I have just received the Missouri/Illinois legislative record, which was most welcome.

*Robert A. Sideman
Chicago, Illinois*

CENSORSHIP BY THE KANSAS CITY STAR

F/M: I am extremely sorry for the long delay between the incident noted below and this letter. Nevertheless, I felt that this issue of media bias would be of interest.

I was reminded of this issue by your recent article on the new FBI director, Clarence Kelley. The following information, it should be noted, was later printed in the letters column of the Kansas City Star.

Some time ago the Kansas City Star had exercised its highly questionable edition of politically sensitive material, resulting in distortion of news. Is this not doing in distortion of news. Is this not de facto censorship?

Regarding the Star's presentation of the Associated Press feature story by Margaret Gentry entitled, "Kelley Expected to Earn High Marks" which appeared on Page 12C in the *Kansas City Times*, August 13, 1973 edition, why were seven paragraphs deleted which contained sharp criticism of former Kansas City Police Chief Clarence Kelley's handling of political dissidents in Kansas City? Specifically relating to Kelley's handling of political surveillance the *Indianapolis Star* (Page 12, Section 1) Sunday, August 12, 1973 edition and *Denver's Rocky Mountain News* (Page 32) Monday, August 13, 1973 edition, also reported:

"Yale Law professor Thomas Emerson assessed the appointment of Kelley, a 21-year FBI agent before serving as Kansas City, Mo., police chief, in these terms:

"It seems it's simply pursuing a line of least resistance to name a professional police officer and ignore the problems. It's doing business as usual as if there hadn't been any new problems which have arisen and as if there wasn't a need to reassess the situation after the death of J. Edgar Hoover.

"Under Hoover, declared Schwartz, the FBI became largely a dirty tricks department which hasn't hesitated to act as a national secret police.

"Referring to political surveillance and the files on individuals, he said those patterns and the extreme right-wing mentality which sees a subversive, a communist and a threat to the foundations of the republic in any kid with long hair - that probably will not change, at least not for a long time.

"Criticism of political surveillance dogged Hoover's final years at the FBI at a time

when protest demonstrations and marches reached a zenith. In Kansas City, Kelley was fielding criticism on the same subject.

"In a lawsuit still pending in federal court in Kansas City, the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) accused Kansas City police of surveillance tactics restricting the constitutional freedom of association.

"Arthur Benson, a Civil Liberties Union attorney involved in the suit, said police tactics included recording license numbers of cars parked near VVAW meetings; interviewing members' employers; 'preparing dossiers on people not connected with any criminal activity,' and posing as news photographers at VVAW rallies."

As the rest of the nation views our dirty laundry washed in public, must we Kansas Citians be left in the dark? Must everything be whitewashed for us? Must we be protected from the truth? Must our local realities be hidden from us?

This incident serves as an example of the biased reporting and prejudicial misrepresentation or nonrepresentation of the VVAW, as well as other minority groups by the *Kansas City Star*.

*Dave Bednark
The Kansas City Vietnam Veterans
Against the War
Kansas City, Missouri*

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Political endorsements

Hundreds of candidates are running for political office in the circulation area of *FOCUS/Midwest*. Obviously, the following endorsements do not pretend to cover all the deserving candidates. We have focussed our attention only on those where the outcome is in some doubt and where it is of crucial importance to the respective electoral districts or communities.

Missouri:

We favor the election of George W. Lehr, Democrat and Jackson County (Kansas City) Executive, for state auditor. Lehr is a certified public accountant and has established a fine reputation as administrator of Jackson County. For state senator of the 10th district we endorse Harry Wiggins, Democrat, over the incumbent Lem Jones, Republican. Even if we wouldn't have Jones voting record for making our endorsement, Wiggins record of public service, his political independence, and his commitment to solving the hard social issues of our day would suffice. For Prosecuting Attorney for St. Louis County we endorse Courtney Goodman, Democrat, who has established himself as a public ombudsman, albeit self-appointed, in behalf of consumers. In appreciation of county issues he outdistances his Republican opponent, Harold P. Heitmann. If there ever was a candidate who came up from the grassroots, won a primary upset, and now hopes to represent the 3rd district on the St. Louis County Council, it is Betty Flynn Van Uum. She is both a Democratic candidate but also an independent who is committed foremost to ideas. She is pitted against Republican Jerome S. Kraus, a personable candidate, who would continue the stifling policies of the incumbent.

Illinois:

In the 6th district (Cook County, western suburbs) we find ourselves bound to endorse – somewhat reluctantly – Henry J. Hyde, a conservative Republican with an 11th century mentality. He is opposed by Democrat Edward V. Hanrahan, who was indicted but acquitted on charges of obstruction of justice after a 1970 Chicago police raid in which two Black Panthers died. The killing of blacks should not be rewarded with a congressional seat. In the 24th District, former Lt. Gov. Paul Simon, Democrat, has our endorsement over Val Oshel, the Republican former mayor of Harrisburg. Oshel fits perfectly the stereotype of the backward, rural conservative, slyly playing that role to garner votes. Simon's contribution to Illinois over many years do not need to be repeated here. Former Rep. Abner J. Mikva, Democrat, has a good chance of upsetting the incumbent Republican Samuel H. Young. In a hard-fought campaign, Mikva clearly emerges as the candidate who is in touch both with the problems and solutions facing his constituency and he deserves to be elected. In the four years which Mikva served, he became known far beyond the confines of Illinois as one of the bright lights in an aging Congress. We also want to endorse Martin A. Russo, in the 3rd district, and John J. Houlihan, Democrat, in the 17th district.

In Cook County, we favor the election of three Republicans. While Mayor Daley's entourage is being gradually diminished by indictments, it would be a cleaner and faster operation if Cook County voters would grasp the initiative and elect Peter B. Bensing as Sheriff of Cook County, Lola Flamm as

Clerk of Cook County and Alice B. Ihrig as Assessor of Cook County.

The elusive Democratic Party reform

The Democratic Party's mini-convention at Kansas City, December 6-8, will drown out the protests of liberals, blacks, women, and reformers and set the stage for a conservative Democratic candidate in 1976 secure in the knowledge that the Republican debacle has already won the election for the Democrats. There is no need for compromise and involving all sections of the Democratic spectrum. After the withdrawal of Sen. Kennedy, the most Democratic reformers can expect is a Muskie – and even he might be too "liberal" for Democratic Party leaders.

Party Chairman Robert Strauss solicited enough resignations from the Charter Commission of the DNC before the August 16-18 meeting to appoint enough puppets which gave him and the AFL-CIO complete dominance in all controversial issues. One can forgive the regulars and representatives of Southern Democrats for their repressive points of view. At least, they are consistent and honest. However, it is painful to observe the rhetoric and closed-door politics of labor leaders in terms of the liberal tradition of their movement. Even Charter Commission chairman Terry Sanford, a former Governor of North Carolina, who presided at the August meeting in Kansas City, found himself siding with the reformers. Since North Carolina is not known as a breeding ground of wild radicals, his expressions of disgust with the regulars who controlled the session ("Some of those bastards just don't know when to quit," *The Nation*, September 7, 1974, p. 165) places the chances for reforms in the proper perspective: nil.

A review of reforms advocated show that they are neither radical nor new, but that they do, indeed, threaten to open up the party. The established, more conservative leadership – the Hearn types in Missouri and the Daly cronies in Illinois – correctly view these efforts as a challenge to their personal power. Viewed in the context of personal power rather than liberal-conservative confrontation, the reforms advocated can never be accepted except for a few which may be passed to give the pretense of change and keep everyone within the partyfold.

What are some of these reforms?

- Mandatory midterm conferences every four years;
- A judicial review council to resolve internal party disputes;
- A guarantee for full participation in party affairs for all Democrats; representation in proportion to the votes cast in Democratic elections by women, youth, blacks, and other groups;
- Adoption of proportional representative in primaries and party affairs;
- A ban on unit-rule voting;
- A strong National Committee which can enforce the adopted rules.

The strength of the Democratic Party is a coalition between labor and liberals; divided, both will lose. The conflict between these mainstays of the party comes to a head in the divisive role of Alexander E. Barkan, director of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE). Barkan failed to stifle reform recommendations at the February meeting of the Dele-

gate Selection Committee chaired by Barbara Mikulski, senatorial candidate in Maryland. At the August meeting — aided by Strauss's packing of the DNC — he easily countermanded compromise agreements painstakingly arrived at in earlier sessions.

On October 18 the DNC rejected efforts to open up the December meeting to allow debates on current public issues and to ease the introduction of amendments to the party's charter.

Here's how Barkan sums up the factional divisions in the Democratic Party: "There is a struggle taking place within the Democratic Party between those who think the way the party should go in order to win is to pick candidates who have positions on issues that can appeal basically to youth, minorities, women — that was the fight in '72 — and those who think that the way to win is to stay away from divisive social issues and build the widest possible coalition without appeals to any special group." He wants to return to the old Roosevelt coalition. However, that coalition has split up and no Barkan can put it back together again — although the facade of collaboration is maintained.

Waiting in the wings is a veteran of independent politics, former presidential candidate Eugene J. McCarthy. Most likely he will become the nominee of the Committee for a Constitutional Presidency. His key backers have more financial than political muscle and include Patrick F. Crowley, a Chicago attorney. The newly formed committee will spend most of 1975 "slowly educating" the public about the abuses of the presidency and the process by which presidential candidates are selected. McCarthy, who teaches at the New School of Social Research in New York City, claimed that now may be the "last chance to found a new movement, because the two-party system is becoming crystalized and frozen into our way of life as the only system." We share the common view that McCarthy's chances are less than minimal. But as a rallying point for discontents — and this may include as many as 25% of registered voters — McCarthy's candidacy should be viewed by the Democratic Party establishment as more than an idle threat. McCarthy may never win the election but he could draw enough votes to let a Republican candidate, most likely pardon-happy Ford, occupy the White House for another four years.

This is a possibility which National Chairman Robert Strauss should keep in mind.

Jefferson Bank back in the news

If any domestic policy of the late Nixon administration was successful it was the promotion of "benign neglect" as the proper treatment for the nation's black citizens. The silence of the Nixon Administration on the continuing indignities suffered by the black minority seemed to spread throughout the country.

The civil rights movement died — or was no longer much reported on even in the parts of the media that once championed it; equal rights became something that only women lacked; and the very cause of racial justice was relegated even by some of good will to being a cause for blacks rather than a cause for Americans.

A good example of this relegation was seen in a recent split in the St. Louis Board of Alderman on a bill authorizing a tax abatement for the construction

of a \$1.5 million branch in downtown St. Louis by the Jefferson Bank and Trust Co.

In St. Louis, the name Jefferson Bank above all others is a symbol of the 60s fight for racial equality. (See "The Strange Case of The Jefferson Bank vs. CORE," Vol. 11, No. 10, November 1963.) It was there in 1963, after several years of unsuccessful negotiations, that St. Louis blacks took their stand against discriminatory employment practices. The CORE-led demonstrations at the bank led to southern-style arrests in the night, stiff fines and harsh jail sentences for 19 demonstration leaders, red-baiting, and general exposure of the deep racism within the white power structure. The demonstrations and the repression with which they were met led also, however, to a new unity in the black community, and the emergence of several new style, dynamic, young black political leaders.

At the time, one of the most blatantly racist voices raised in condemnation of the demonstrators was that of the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*. That voice hasn't changed much in the intervening years and the *Globe* still goes out of its way to attack those blacks who emerged in leadership positions during the demonstrations.

Thus it was not surprising that the *Globe* chose to criticize Alderman Lawrence Woodson (Dem.), 20th Ward, for leading opposition to the tax brake for the Jefferson Bank. But it may be a sign that the neglect is getting a little less benign that the *Globe* chose to rewrite history in the case. Even in its most inflammatory 1963 editorials — and they were many — the *Globe* recognized the Jefferson Bank demonstration as the action of a black organization.

Now in criticizing Alderman Woodson — who simply asked the bank about its present employment and housing loan practices — the *Globe* has accused the black alderman, one of those arrested in 1963, of letting his "past personal grievance interfere with his role" as chairman of the aldermanic committee. "Woodson," the *Globe* said, "has no business nursing his personal sores of 11 years ago in his official capacity."

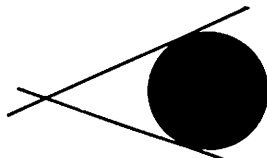
For the record, Alderman Woodson's cause at the Jefferson Bank in 1963 was not personal but was for racial equality for all of St. Louis's black citizens. And it would seem that in 1974, the "official capacity" of any alderman — black or white — would require that the official ascertain that an institution not discriminate before voting to give that institution preferential tax treatment.

In the period of benign neglect, however, it seems that is now seen as only the job of blacks. The board committee split on the tax proposal four to three with the vote strictly along racial lines.

Before the vote, Woodson told the committee that the Jefferson Bank had informed him that only six of its 60 employees were black. (At the time of the long 1963 demonstrations the number was two).

When the demonstrations were staged, the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* was not the only white voice in the community to comment. There were others who spoke out in support of the black movement, a few who joined the demonstration and at least one who went to jail.

In 1974, when Woodson told of the 6 blacks out of 60, Alderman John Roach, (Dem.), 28th Ward, considered a liberal from a liberal, integrated ward, responded: "I suspect 10 per cent is about the



COMING INTO FOCUS

In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, the **Missouri Commission on Human Rights** recovered \$108,290 in back pay for persons unlawfully discriminated against because of race or sex. The Commission has now published a handy **guide to employment application forms** which gives a step by step analysis for employers and employees of what type of background questions may be included on application forms and which questions are considered discriminatory. For a copy write: MCHR, 314 East High, Jefferson City, Missouri.

The **Walker Art Center** in Minneapolis is holding a "Natives and Visionaries" exhibit Nov. 30 to Jan. 26 to feature neglected grassroots creativity in North America. Among the grassroots artists whose work will be shown will be **Jessa Howard of Fulton, Mo.** who covers the fences bordering his property with monumental graffiti which comment on everything from home medicine to politics.

The **Free Speech-Free Press Committee** of the American Civil Liberties Union of Eastern Missouri was recently reorganized to "concentrate on policies and plans for action rather than on individual complaints." The committee is now focusing on public television, cable television, censorship of student publications, reporters' shield laws and anti-obscenity laws.

"**A Handbook on Women and the Law in Missouri**" is now available from the Missouri Public Interest Research Group. Copies may be ordered by sending 75 cents to Post Office Box 8276, St. Louis, Missouri, 63156.

The **Tax Reform Task Force** of the Metropolitan St. Louis New Democratic Coalition is continuing to work for its primary objective — the repeal of state and local sales taxes on food and medicine.

BOOKS: "Black City Politics" (Dodd, Mead & Co., Inc., 310 pp.) by Ernest Paterson, political scientist at the University of Colorado, is a handy summary of the political struggles of blacks in large cities, with major focus on St. Louis. It is a little dry and somewhat repetitive but provides excellent background on black political struggles in the 1960s and thoughtful reflections on the proper course for achieving black political power in the latter half of the 70s.

"**Give: Who Gets Your Charity Dollar?**" (Anchor Press/Doubleday, 252 pp., \$6.95) by Harvey Katz, an investigative reporter, takes a much needed look at organized


charity frauds and mismanagement in the United States. It's only a starter though, with Katz giving few examples, somewhat overlooking the whole tax benefit picture of the charity business and enthusiastically endorsing charities he finds efficient without taking a hard look at what it is they are efficient at.

"**Blue Cross: What Went Wrong?**" (Yale University Press, \$10) by Sylvia A. Law is a comprehensive study of how Blue Cross worked for rather than against higher medical costs. The book is very timely as the nation moves closer to accepting that some type of national health insurance is an idea whose time has come.

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Barbara King opening her diary about being Southern, a woman, and surviving in New York City;

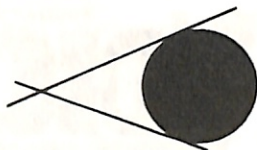
Reynold Price's novel-in-progress;

Ferrel Guillory assessing Republicans in the South;

Tom Wicker looking at Sam Ervin's pro-war, anti-civil rights record.

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By TOM LAUE

ILLINOIS POLITICS

Seeing is believing, the old saw goes. But when it comes to statehouse television news coverage in Illinois, what you see isn't necessarily what you get.

Take, for example, the tactic used this spring by Gov. **Daniel Walker** while trying to win support for his fiscal 1975 budget. The proposal for nearly \$8 billion in state spending included several Walker ideas guaranteed to draw fire from the legislature, such as limiting the local share of state income tax revenue to last year's dollar figure instead of the usual one-twelfth and spending less for schools than a new aid formula allows. Walker also introduced what he called a "modest" tax relief plan to end the sales tax on all medicine, not a new suggestion. It has been bouncing around the assembly several years.

As usual, when the legislature convened in April, it began digesting the budget, funding some Walker programs and departments at the recommended levels while cutting or increasing money for others. But as expected, the assembly balked at Walker's tax plan, quickly made it clear they thought schools should get the full amount authorized by law and indicated local governments should continue getting one-twelfth of the income tax. At this point, Walker added a unique twist to the annual battle over the budget.

He summoned all 236 lawmakers to his office and asked them to join him in a united stand on the budget. Many, sensing something fishy, ignored Walker's request altogether. But 89 others agreed, perhaps out of curiosity or because they wanted to take advantage of the wide publicity Walker promised they would get if they went along. But exactly what they had agreed to quickly became hotly contested.

For his part, Walker made it all sound quite simple. In televised "news spots," produced with tax dollars by the Illinois Information Service (the traditional publicity arm of the governor's office), Walker proudly proclaimed bipartisan budget support from the legislators bunched around him. Several of the spots were made, keyed to various legislative districts, so that each one showed only a dozen or so of Walker's "budget backers" at a time. Copies of the televised message were then sent to stations throughout the state. Along with the film went regionalized press releases saying named lawmakers were fully behind Walker's budget efforts, including his tax plan. How widely the

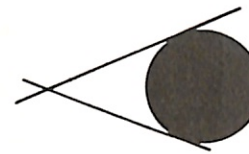
governor's version of the news was broadcast is not known. At least one television outlet, channel 20 in Springfield, used the IIS film but took great pains to point out it was concocted wholly by the governor's office.

Meanwhile, individual legislators who had consented to the budget filming session were amazed to find themselves in support of Walker's tax plan. Sen. **Terry Bruce**, an Olney Democrat, said he first learned from a newspaper headline he supposedly favored Walker's tax relief, only hours after telling a group of constituents talk of tax relief in Springfield was just that — talk — and that they shouldn't count on it in 1974. When told what the companion press releases said, Bruce was puzzled. He said he couldn't remember talk of specifics like taxes — only that the governor and his aides had asked for support on the budget's "bottom line" or total amount. "But of course it was understood within that bottom line figure we all had our own priorities and were not endorsing the budget item by item," Bruce said.

One legislator, Democrat **Michael McClain** of Quincy, theorized many of his colleagues were led into seeming to support things they really didn't favor because Walker aides refused to divulge details of the television script until filming. Only then, and then only fleetingly, did Walker claim the lawmakers surrounding him were backing his version of tax relief. It could have been the kind of thing that slips by a listener, McClain said, but which leaps out at editors and newspaper readers. Thus, the tax relief issue, mentioned in passing in the television clip, might have been dug out of the press releases and been given prominent play in many newspapers, as it was in the one Sen. Bruce reads.

Walker has also used the IIS television crew to focus on him at the Midwest Governors Conference in Minneapolis. To a casual viewer, a recent informal half-hour televised discussion among Walker and the governors of Nebraska and North Dakota might have been the brainchild of some industrious commercial television station. But again, it was Illinois tax dollars that produced the program and viewers who saw it in states adjoining Illinois (Iowa, Missouri, Indiana, Kentucky), who could only vote for Walker in a national election, might have liked some of his severe comments on federal foot-dragging on Watergate and poor judgment in the Federal Energy Office.

What viewers see on commercial television news broadcasts from the capitol, though free of such blatant political tampering, is often little more balanced, particularly coverage of press conferences.



By O. C. KARL

MISSOURI POLITICS

James E. Spain has been appointed state Democratic chairman. He has all the ingredients of being accepted by the several ideological wings in the Democratic Party. From Bloomfield, Spain's hometown, the Democratic Party may look more united than from Kansas City, St. Louis, or St. Louis County. Spain was the only "regular" in 1968 who dared to throw in with the three lonely Gene McCarthy votes at the Democratic National Convention. He has the credentials and the intelligence to unify the Democratic Party in Missouri. But in terms of his personal political ambitions, does he have the courage?

...

According to the latest press reports, some of the smaller, weekly newspapers have expressed doubts about supporting the Election Reform Initiative which will be on the ballot in Missouri in November. Some have come out and declared their opposition. The weekly newspapers in Missouri, particularly those in the Bootheill, have never been known for being progressive nor too enlightened, and that goes for the Missouri Press Association to which many belong.

Additional opposition has come primarily from some lawyers who fear that disclosure of income which exceeds \$500 in the twelve months preceding an election would jeopardize lawyer-client (or doctor-patient) relationships. Proponents of the campaign finance bill have repeatedly pointed out that the legislature will be able to amend the bill and most likely will do so.

Signatures for the initiative drive were collected in an unprecedented short time. The public support shown then has not slackened and will write the proposal into law. Typically, when a St. Louis County political group staged a public discussion on the merits of the reforms, it was unable to find an opponent to the initiative among lawyers or others willing to speak on the subject in public.

While big givers to political causes and large organizations will find ways to exert influence on legislators, the ways and byways of political life in Missouri will change, possibly dramatically in the years ahead once the measure is adopted.

For reduced HOLIDAY RATES see FOCUS/Midwest offer on page 2

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Checklist for the November elections

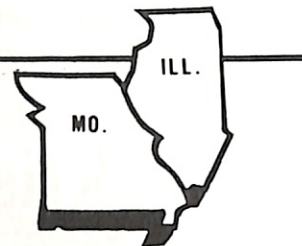
The expected turnaround in voter attitude and party choice can be evaluated following the Nov. 1974 election by checking the voter summaries below. For that purpose FOCUS/Midwest Magazine has compiled the 1973 votes by district for President, Governor, and U.S. Senators and Representatives in Illinois and Missouri.

1973 ILLINOIS VOTES

	FOR PRESIDENT				FOR GOVERNOR				FOR U.S. SENATOR				FOR U.S. REPRESENTATIVE			
	Nixon (R)	%	McGovern (D)	%	Ogilvie (R)	%	Walker (D)	%	Percy (R)	%	Pucinski (D)	%	Republican	%	Democrat	%
1	17,018	10.4	145,003	88.8	31,511	20.5	121,293	78.7	85,594	55.3	67,327	43.5	12,877	8.6	136,755	91.4
2	60,220	33.8	116,527	65.4	60,166	35.1	110,157	64.3	93,365	54.3	77,117	44.9	38,391	25.0	115,306	75.0
3	154,211	71.1	61,653	28.4	127,938	59.4	86,868	40.4	125,823	59.0	86,885	40.7	128,329	62.3	77,814	37.7
4	145,547	71.2	58,453	28.6	120,115	59.1	82,939	40.8	135,206	67.2	65,625	32.6	141,402	70.5	59,057	29.5
5	86,646	47.0	95,943	52.0	69,954	39.2	107,304	60.1	72,201	40.2	106,065	59.1	45,264	27.2	121,278	72.8
6	149,989	68.5	68,011	31.1	125,254	57.8	91,084	42.0	135,972	63.2	78,678	36.5	124,486	61.2	79,002	38.8
7	33,266	26.0	93,318	73.0	32,509	26.4	89,720	72.8	43,161	34.9	79,336	64.2	19,758	17.2	95,018	82.8
8	71,366	43.8	90,032	55.2	59,218	37.2	98,877	62.1	65,325	41.0	92,800	58.3	38,758	26.0	110,457	74.0
9	93,204	45.2	111,372	54.1	87,390	43.1	114,267	56.4	126,985	62.8	73,586	36.4	61,083	31.7	131,777	68.3
10	147,305	62.0	89,630	37.7	138,808	58.7	97,208	41.1	175,707	75.1	57,699	24.6	120,681	51.6	113,222	48.4
11	144,360	62.3	86,121	37.1	117,616	51.4	110,487	48.3	107,809	46.7	122,344	53.0	103,773	46.7	118,637	53.3
12	154,690	73.0	56,896	26.8	130,652	61.7	80,726	38.2	156,822	75.2	51,243	24.6	152,938	74.2	53,055	25.8
13	113,282	69.5	49,219	30.2	89,964	55.4	72,214	44.5	110,968	69.7	47,732	30.0	98,201	61.5	61,537	38.5
14	164,660	75.2	54,116	24.7	137,053	62.4	82,326	37.5	163,844	75.3	53,368	24.5	154,794	72.8	57,874	27.2
15	133,071	65.9	68,408	33.9	102,908	51.1	98,329	48.8	137,575	69.5	59,830	30.2	111,022	57.2	89,925	42.8
16	120,432	65.7	62,339	34.0	89,649	49.0	93,128	50.9	123,861	69.3	54,517	30.5	129,640	71.9	50,649	28.1
17	122,873	66.3	61,854	33.4	97,684	53.0	86,402	46.9	117,926	64.9	63,293	34.9	100,175	55.6	79,840	44.4
18	128,247	65.3	67,503	34.3	97,287	49.5	99,043	50.4	129,638	67.9	60,824	31.9	124,407	64.8	67,514	35.2
19	124,549	61.6	77,194	38.2	95,238	47.1	106,757	52.8	130,960	66.1	66,662	33.7	138,123	100.0	/	/
20	136,963	63.6	77,088	35.8	109,364	50.8	104,859	48.7	135,985	66.0	67,276	32.7	148,419	68.8	67,445	31.2
21	117,220	62.4	70,046	37.3	99,931	53.0	88,275	46.8	132,226	72.5	49,478	27.1	99,966	54.8	82,523	45.2
22	141,820	63.5	80,804	36.2	105,889	47.1	118,900	52.8	135,114	62.3	81,298	37.5	90,390	41.0	124,589	56.5
23	88,105	52.6	78,164	46.7	65,302	39.4	99,866	60.2	89,672	55.6	70,468	43.7	40,428	24.9	121,682	75.1
24	138,435	59.7	92,910	40.1	102,359	43.9	130,304	50.9	135,379	60.6	87,470	39.2	138,867	93.7	9,398	6.3
T	2,788,046	59.0	1,913,073	40.5	2,293,759	49.0	2,371,333	50.7	2,867,118	62.2	1,720,951	37.3	/	/	/	/

1973 MISSOURI VOTES

	FOR PRESIDENT				FOR GOVERNOR				FOR U.S. REPRESENTATIVE			
	Nixon (R)	%	McGovern (D)	%	Bond (R)	%	Dowd (D)	%	Republican	%	Democrat	%
1	45,409	31.0	100,797	68.8	49,427	34.2	94,887	65.6	53,596	36.0	95,098	64.0
2	126,412	62.7	75,201	37.3	120,234	59.0	83,049	40.8	77,192	36.5	134,332	63.5
3	103,808	58.4	73,406	41.3	90,564	50.4	88,737	49.4	54,523	30.4	124,365	69.3
4	137,109	69.3	60,306	30.5	115,799	59.9	77,473	40.0	80,228	42.6	108,131	57.4
5	74,486	50.9	71,448	48.8	79,035	51.7	73,451	48.1	53,257	35.6	93,812	62.8
6	134,977	66.9	65,754	32.6	119,975	58.6	84,541	41.3	91,610	45.4	110,047	54.6
7	153,239	72.5	57,616	27.3	131,850	62.2	79,913	37.7	137,780	63.7	75,613	36.3
8	124,585	68.1	58,036	31.7	109,914	59.5	74,448	40.3	68,850	37.9	112,556	62.1
9	129,397	64.9	69,389	34.8	110,835	55.0	90,253	44.8	66,528	33.5	132,150	66.5
10	111,777	65.7	57,754	33.9	88,580	51.9	81,772	47.9	59,083	35.7	106,301	64.3
T	1,153,944	62.2	697,067	37.6	1,029,450	55.1	834,698	44.7	/	/	/	/



A landslide in the making

American voters are likely next month to deal the Republican Party an electoral defeat as sweeping as the one that emerged from Lyndon B. Johnson's presidential landslide of 1964.

A month of reporting and research by Congressional Quarterly indicates that if the election were held in mid-October, Democrats would gain 30 to 35 House seats and three or four seats in the Senate. Five more governorships would be Democratic. At present, Democrats hold 58 of 100 Senate seats, 248 of 435 House seats and 32 of 50 governorships.

There is room for considerable change between now and election day, but the pattern of movement offers little comfort to Republicans. In most regions of the country, Democratic challengers have been gaining in the past month, Republican incumbents becoming slightly less secure. If that trend accelerates in the weeks before Nov. 5, Democrats could gain 50 or more House seats, approaching 300 in the 94th Congress. They have not had that many since 1938. The 1964 election brought in a Congress with 68 Democratic senators and 295 Democratic representatives.

Such an upheaval would contradict what many political observers have been saying in recent years: that the decline in party structure and the advantages of incumbency preclude massive gains by one party in any one election.

Whatever the size of the Democratic gain, *Watergate* is clearly the root of it. In state after state, sources told Congressional Quarterly the same story: a spring and summer of Republican discontent, a brief euphoria when the nation changed presidents and then a return to doubt in the aftermath of the Nixon pardon.

Republicans in most states say things are not as bad now as they were while Nixon was still President, but that the abrupt decline in President Ford's popularity was a blow to Republican morale from which the party still has not recovered.

Triple threat to Republicans

The source of Republican problems is deeper, however, than simple resentment against the party of Nixon. It has to do with the more complicated questions of retirement, recruitment and turnout.

Retirement

In the House, for example, 44 members have chosen to retire or run for other offices in 1974. Twenty-one of them are Republicans. That in itself is not an unusual number—22 Republicans chose to leave the House in 1972. But it gives the party a large number of open seats to defend in a year of weakness.

Congressional Quarterly's survey shows that Democrats are already clear favorites in seven of the 21 districts Republican incumbents have chosen to vacate. Nine of the other Republican districts are believed to be about even, with only five Republicans favored to succeed departing members of their own party.

In contrast, Democrats are favored in 15 of the 23 districts they are vacating. Republicans are ahead in only two open Democratic districts—those belonging to John C. Culver (Iowa) and Wayne Owens (Utah).

Retirement has not been nearly as bad a problem for Republicans in the Senate. Three of the Republican retirees there—George D. Aiken of Vermont, Norris Cotton of New Hampshire and Wallace F. Bennett of Utah—are over 70 years of age and might have had more trouble holding the seats than the men chosen by the party to replace them. The fourth Republican retiree, Edward J. Gurney of Florida, is under indictment for bribery and conspiracy. The replacement of these four incumbents is one reason Republicans are not in even more trouble in Senate races.

Recruitment

Recruitment is a problem that is hurting Republican chances at all levels. Early this year, when prominent Republicans had to decide their political plans, many of them tested the national political climate and decided not to make the sort of challenge they would have made in a more favorable year.

The Republican Senate nominee in Illinois is not Rep. John B. Anderson, the widely respected chairman of the House Republican Conference, but George M. Burditt, a little-known former state representative. The Republican nominee in Washington is not popular freshman Rep. Joel Pritchard, but State Sen. Jack Metcalf, a landslide loser six years ago. The incumbent Democrats in those states, Adlai E. Stevenson III of Illinois and Warren G. Magnuson of Washington, are both safe, even though many Republicans consider them potentially vulnerable.

The recruitment factor in the Senate has been well documented all year. What is less known is that the problem exists in the House, probably to a greater extent.

New Jersey is a good example. Democratic Rep. Edward J. Patten won re-election with only 52.3 per cent of the vote in 1972. Patten is 69 this year and potentially vulnerable to a vigorous challenge. But instead of getting that challenge, Patten is safe for a seventh term against nearly invisible opposition. Republicans failed to come up with a viable contender.

In a district just to the south, Republican Rep. Edwin B. Forsythe coasted to victory in 1972 with 62.8 per cent against poorly financed Democratic opposition. This year Forsythe is up against Charles B. Yates, a millionaire electronics manufacturer who is chairman of the Appropriations Committee in the New Jersey Assembly. The election is considered too close to call.

The pattern is nationwide. Influential Democrats chose to gamble this year on congressional and gubernatorial challenges. Republicans did not.

Turnout

Turnout is a more difficult problem to evaluate, but a potentially disastrous one for Republicans. This year's primaries featured generally light voting in both parties,

but the decline in turnout was far more pronounced on the Republican side.

In the California primary in June, for example, 7.8 per cent fewer Republicans voted in a spirited primary for governor than had voted four years ago, when Ronald Reagan ran unopposed for renomination. In Ohio, Republican gubernatorial turnout was down 34 per cent, Democratic turnout up 9.6 per cent. And in Iowa, the Democratic primary vote surpassed the Republican vote for the first time in the state's history.

Republican optimists insist that it is misleading to apply primary turnout rates to general elections and that November apathy will be spread equally between the two parties. But if Republicans vote as lightly in the general election as they did in primaries, the party may be in for more trouble than anyone now imagines.

The turnout factor may be most worrisome for Republican incumbents, especially veterans who have depended more on party strength than on personal campaigning in recent years.

Midwest outlook

The Midwest is the area where Republicans stand to lose the most, especially in the House. They hold 66 of the region's 121 House seats, and in many districts their hold appears shaky.

Three midwestern Republican incumbents, Huber, Hudnut and Mayne, already appear to be trailing. Three open Republican House seats—belonging to John M. Zwach of Minnesota, H. R. Gross of Iowa and Walter E. Powell of Ohio—also seem likely to go Democratic.

Even more ominous for the Republicans, the Midwest has nine Republican House seats in which there is no clear favorite. Three of the nine are in Indiana, two in Illinois and one each in Michigan, Nebraska, Ohio and Wisconsin.

Midwestern Republicans are likely to lose less in Senate races, principally because they have little to lose. Sixteen of the region's 24 Senate seats are already in Democratic hands. That number may go even higher this year, with Dole and Young both possible casualties.

The midwestern gubernatorial picture is not likely to change much. Democrats already hold eight of the region's 12 governorships. One that could switch hands is in Michigan, where Republican incumbent William G. Milliken is in a close race with Democrat Sander M. Levin. Another is in Kansas, where Republican State Sen. Robert Bennett is doing surprisingly well against Democratic Attorney General Vern Miller for the job being vacated by four-term Democrat Robert Docking.

Shortage of issues

For the most part, the 1974 congressional campaigns have lacked serious discussion of substantive issues. Democrats have been reluctant to use Watergate as a direct weapon against their Republican opponents, but have concentrated on "integrity issues" that call Watergate to mind. These include campaign finance disclosure, release of personal finances and limitations on the amount of contributions and expenditures.

Inflation has turned up in virtually every campaign, but as a topic rather than an issue. An issue requires disagreement, and no candidates are known to have come out in favor of inflation. Liberal Democrats as well as conservatives are paying lip service to economic orthodoxy, such as reduced federal spending, but there is no evidence that Republican claims of congressional overspending are any

more or less convincing than Democratic claims of presidential mismanagement.

Busing is not a major issue in many congressional campaigns. Abortion has replaced it as the most talked-about social issue, with capital punishment playing a secondary role in some places. In western states, land use planning has emerged as a divisive question and has provoked legitimate debate, with opponents of federal land use control asking incumbents to justify their votes for it in Congress.



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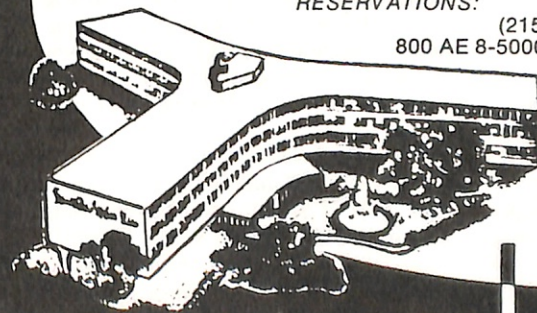
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No upsets expected

Senate

Democrat. Incumbent Thomas F. Eagleton (D), 45, of St. Louis, elected to first term in 1968 with 51.1 per cent.

Republican. Former U.S. Rep. Thomas B. Curtis (R 1951-69), 63, of Clayton.

Independent. Clifford E. Talmadge, 61, of Ballwin, an automobile plant manager.

Outlook. This election bears little resemblance to the one six years ago in which Eagleton, then Missouri's boyish lieutenant governor, defeated Curtis, the well-known and respected veteran of eight terms in the House. Eagleton is the incumbent now, and he is the odds-on favorite. Even polls taken for Curtis show the Republican down nearly 2 to 1.

The main reason is that Eagleton has become a familiar name and face during those six years, while Curtis has faded from view. Curtis took a job as vice president of the Encyclopedia Britannica in 1968, then switched to private law practice in 1972. Many Missourians have forgotten him, and the fact he is seeking another term at age 63 is not easing his comeback effort.

Eagleton's reputation changed, probably for all time, when he was dropped from the 1972 Democratic national ticket because he had a history of mental illness. Eagleton basked in Missouri sympathy that year; most political observers say he could have beaten anyone in the state for any office he wanted.

The mental issue is not prominent this year. Curtis is not discussing it, Eagleton is not defending himself and the state's news media are playing it down. But there is still a reservoir of sympathy for Eagleton under the surface, sources say, and it merely adds to the problem of trying to unseat him in a Democratic state in a Democratic year.

Curtis is actually waging a more active campaign than he did in 1968, when he had to spend much of his time in Washington on congressional business. The Republican charges that Eagleton's support for high-spending social programs is a partial cause of inflation. He reminds voters that Eagleton ridiculed his "stingy" attitude toward government in 1968 and says the country would be better off if all senators were equally stingy.

Eagleton replies that inflation has more to do with the policies of the Nixon and Ford administrations than with anything he or Congress have done. But he has advertised budget-reducing amendments he has offered as a member of the Senate Appropriations Committee and has called for a cut in foreign aid.

Eagleton is campaigning as hard as Curtis. He began devoting more attention to Missouri after losing his place on the national ticket in 1972 and started his campaign for re-election early. At one point in September, Eagleton had raised about \$500,000, and Curtis less than \$100,000. The consensus is that Curtis probably will lose by less than the 2-to-1 indicated in his poll, but it is not expected to be close. Safe Democratic.

House

1st District (North St. Louis and Western Suburbs)

Candidates. Incumbent William Clay (D), 43, of St. Louis, elected to third term in 1972 with 64 per cent; Arthur O. Martin (R), 55, a St. Louis realtor.

Senate Candidates

INCUMBENT: THOMAS F. EAGLETON (D), 45

Elected to Senate: 1968.

Committees: Appropriations, District of Columbia, Labor and Public Welfare, National Capital Planning Commission, National Visitor Facilities Advisory Commission, Special Committee on Aging.

Profession: Attorney.

Born: Sept. 4, 1929, St. Louis, Mo.

Home: St. Louis.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Education: Amherst College, B.A. *cum laude*, 1950; Harvard Law School, LL. B. *cum laude*, 1953.

Previous public offices: Circuit attorney, St. Louis, 1957-61; attorney general of Missouri, 1961-65; lieutenant governor, 1965-69.

Unsuccessful campaigns: None.

Military: Navy, 1948-49; discharged as seaman apprentice.

Memberships: St. Louis Bar Association, St. Louis Lawyers Association.

Family: Wife, Barbara; two children.



Thomas F. Eagleton



Thomas B. Curtis

CHALLENGER: THOMAS B. CURTIS (R), 63

Profession: Attorney.

Born: May 14, 1911, St. Louis, Mo.

Home: Webster Groves, Mo.

Religion: Unitarian.

Education: Dartmouth College, A.B., 1932; Washington University, LL.B., 1935.

Previous public offices: U.S. House, 1951-69.

Unsuccessful campaign: U.S. Senate, 1968.

Military: Navy, 1942-45; discharged as lieutenant commander.

Memberships: Board of directors, Public Media Inc., Library Resources Inc., U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, Lincoln Foundation; St. Louis City and County Bar Associations; former board chairman, Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

Family: Wife, Susan; five children.

Outlook. Clay easily turned back a primary challenger who claimed he was too militant in his liberal views. He should have an even easier time against Martin, who has a long history of Republican Party work but an equally long string of unsuccessful political campaigns. Safe Democratic.

2nd District (St. Louis Suburbs)

Candidates. Incumbent James W. Symington (D), 47, of Ladue, elected to third term in 1972 with 63.5 per cent; Howard C. Ohlendorf (R), 59, a Huntleigh Village business executive.

Outlook. Symington's most serious problem came in the Democratic primary, when he was criticized by anti-abortion crusader John Doyle for his refusal to back a constitutional amendment outlawing abortion. But even that contest was not as close as had been predicted—Symington drew 70 per cent of the vote. Safe Democratic.

3rd District (Southern St. Louis and Suburbs)

Candidates. Incumbent Leonor K. Sullivan (D), 70, of St. Louis, elected to 11th term in 1972 with 69.3 per cent; Jo Ann P. Raisch (R), 38, a St. Louis housewife; Marie S. Nowak (independent), 54, an Afton teacher.

Outlook. Safe Democratic.

4th District (West—Kansas City, Independence)

Candidates. Incumbent William J. Randall (D), 65, of Independence, elected to eighth term in 1972 with 57.4 per cent; Claude Patterson (R), 37, of Appleton City, a minister in the Church of God.

Outlook. Patterson, who did not announce his candidacy until June, has surprised observers with his continuing flow of press releases and aggressive campaigning. He brought House Republican Leader John J. Rhodes (Ariz.) into the district to campaign for him.

But Patterson's activity is not expected to threaten Randall's House career. Popular in the area and strong in constituent service, Randall is believed vulnerable only to an exceptional challenger in an exceptionally strong Republican year. Safe Democratic.

5th District (Kansas City)

Candidates. Incumbent Richard Bolling (D), 58, of Kansas City, elected to 13th term in 1972 with 62.8 per cent; John J. McDonough (R), 50, of Kansas City, a communications engineer; Edward Verburg (independent) of Kansas City.

Outlook. This year Bolling has an opponent at least as conservative as Bolling is liberal. McDonough is basing his campaign on opposition to busing, abortion and pornography. Safe Democratic.

6th District (Northwest—St. Joseph)

Candidates. Incumbent Jerry Litton (D), 37, of Chillicothe, elected to first term in 1972 with 54.6 per cent; Grover H. Speers (R), 51, a Gladstone insurance agent.

Outlook. Litton has solidified his hold on this theoretically marginal district since winning it in 1972. He is expected to win by a convincing margin this time over Speers, as a prelude to a possible Senate candidacy in 1976. Safe Democratic.

7th District (Southwest—Springfield, Joplin)

Candidates. Incumbent Gene Taylor (R), 46, of Sarcoxie, elected to first term in 1972 with 63.7 per cent; Richard L. Franks (D), 31, of Springfield, a former magistrate judge.

Outlook. This Ozark-style district has not sent a Democrat to Congress since 1958, and it is likely to remain Republican for Taylor even in a time of national Republican weakness.

Franks has been campaigning seriously, complaining

about the way farmers have been squeezed by inflation and saying Taylor has not done enough to help them. The Democrat has brought Arkansas Gov. Dale Bumpers, whose home is just across the state border, to speak in his behalf.

Franks should do well in Springfield, where there are pockets of Democratic strength and where he is well known for his casual style on the local bench. But Taylor's rural popularity is likely to bring him home ahead by a comfortable margin. Safe Republican.

8th District (Central—Columbia)

Candidates. Incumbent Richard H. Ichord (D), 48, of Houston, elected to seventh term in 1972 with 62.1 per cent; State Sen. James A. Noland Jr. (R), 47, of Osage Beach.

Outlook. Safe Democratic.

9th District (Northeast—Florissant)

Candidates. Incumbent William L. Hungate (D), 51, of Troy, elected to sixth term in 1972 with 66.5 per cent; Milton J. Bischof Jr. (R), 45, of Elmcrest, a member of the St. Louis County Council.

Outlook. Hungate's moderate-to-liberal record in Congress has brought him occasional criticism from back home during his 12 years in the House. Bischof is using that theme this year.

Most sources say, however, that the district is more Democratic than it is conservative. Hungate is personally popular and politically secure in it, especially in a strong Democratic year. Bischof is not well known outside the St. Louis County portion of the district. Safe Democratic.

10th District (Southeast—Cape Girardeau)

Candidates. Incumbent Bill D. Burlison (D), 41, of Cape Girardeau, elected to third term in 1972 with 64.3 per cent; Truman Farrow (R), 52, of Jackson, a civil engineer.

Outlook. Burlison's margin of victory went up sharply in 1972, from a relatively close 56 per cent two years before and 54 per cent in 1968. He should have little trouble this year with Farrow, who is not well known in most parts of the district. Safe Democratic.



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Mikva-Young, Hanrahan-Hyde Races Most Controversial; Simon Expected to Win

Senate

Democrat. Incumbent Adlai E. Stevenson III, 43, of Chicago, elected to first term in 1970 with 57.4 per cent.

Republican. Former State Rep. George M. Burditt, 52, of La Grange.

Communist. Ishmael Flory.

Outlook. Recruited as a candidate at the last minute after leading Republican contenders refused to run, Burditt has been acutely short of money and name recognition since the campaign began. Republican Party leaders insist he is gaining on Stevenson as his exposure grows, but he is given almost no chance of overtaking the incumbent.

Money remains Burditt's most serious problem. His strategists hope to raise \$500,000, but even that would be less than adequate; Sen. Charles H. Percy (R Ill.) spent \$1.4-million in his bid for re-election in 1972.

Burditt passed much of the summer touring downstate Illinois, where he was even less known than in the Chicago area. He told audiences that Stevenson is a big spender who has contributed to inflation and cited his own proposal for a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget except in times of emergency.

Stevenson has been conducting a limited campaign, placing primary attention on his legislative work in Washington. He has scaled down the financial level of his campaign and expects to spend less than \$1-million.

The incumbent differs with Burditt on a few key issues. He opposes even a conditional amnesty for draft evaders, where Burditt supports one, and is against federal revenue sharing, which Burditt is for. The two men have had face-to-face debates, but Stevenson has shown little inclination to criticize his challenger's views. Aides say the soft-spoken Stevenson has little taste for a hard-hitting campaign and no inclination to run up the score against an under-financed opponent, the way Percy did against Democrat Roman C. Pucinski in 1972. Safe Democratic.

House

1st District (Chicago—South Side)

Candidates. Incumbent Ralph H. Metcalfe (D), 64, of Chicago, elected to second term in 1972 with 91.4 per cent; Oscar H. Haynes (R), 61, of Chicago, a furniture store employee.

Outlook. Safe Democratic.

2nd District (Chicago—South Side)

Candidates. Incumbent Morgan F. Murphy (D), 41, of Chicago, elected to second term in 1972 with 75 per cent; James Ginderski (R), 41, a Chicago bank teller.

Outlook. Safe Democratic.

3rd District (Chicago and Southwest Suburbs)

Candidates. Incumbent Robert P. Hanrahan (R), 40, of Homewood, elected to first term in 1972 with 62.3 per cent; Martin A. Russo (D), 30, a Calumet Park attorney.

Outlook. Safe Republican.

4th District (Cook County—Western, Southwestern)

Candidates. Incumbent Edward J. Derwinski (R), 48, of Flossmoor, elected to eighth term in 1972 with 70.5 per

cent; Ronald A. Rodger (D), 30, a Tinley Park high school teacher.

Outlook. Safe Republican.

Senate Candidates

INCUMBENT: ADLAI E. STEVENSON III
(D), 43

Elected to Senate: 1970.

Committees: Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs; Commerce; District of Columbia; Special Committee on Termination of National Emergency; Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Commission.

Profession: Attorney.

Born: Oct. 10, 1930, Chicago.

Home: Chicago.

Religion: Unitarian.

Education: Harvard University, B.A., 1952; LL.B., 1957.

Previous public offices: Illinois House, 1965-67; state treasurer, 1967-70.

Unsuccessful campaigns: None.

Military: Marine Corps, 1952-54; discharged as 1st lieutenant.

Family: Wife, Nancy; four children.



Adlai E. Stevenson III



George M. Burditt

CHALLENGER: GEORGE M. BURDITT (R), 52

Profession: Attorney.

Born: Sept. 21, 1922, Chicago.

Home: LaGrange, Ill.

Religion: United Church of Christ.

Education: Harvard University, B.A., 1943; LL.B., 1948.

Previous public office: Illinois House, 1965-72.

Unsuccessful campaigns: None.

Military: Army Air Force, 1943-45; discharged as 2nd lieutenant.

Memberships: Chairman, Lyons Township Mental Health Board; Illinois Board of Ethics; trustee, King-Bruwaert House; treasurer, Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society; board member, Community Memorial General Hospital, LaGrange.

Family: Wife, Barbara; four children.



5th District (Chicago—Central)

Candidates. Incumbent John C. Kluczynski (D), 78, of Chicago, elected to 12th term in 1972 with 72.8 per cent; William H. G. Toms (R), 56, a Chicago shipping clerk.

Outlook. Safe Democratic.

6th District (Cook County—Western Suburbs)

Candidates. State Rep. Henry J. Hyde (R), 50, of Park Ridge; Edward V. Hanrahan (D), 52, of Chicago, former Cook County state's attorney.

Outlook. Democrats opened the campaign optimistic about their chances to take this heavily Republican district behind the controversial Hanrahan, who was indicted but acquitted on charges of obstruction of justice after a 1970 police raid in which two Black Panthers died. But Hanrahan appears to be falling behind as the election nears.

The district's arithmetic favors Hyde, a blunt and conservative legislator who was majority leader in the Illinois House. In 1972, Republican Rep. Harold R. Collier had little trouble winning re-election here even though he was new to the district. In many areas, Hyde's name is more familiar to voters than Collier's. Collier is retiring this year.

Hyde has been campaigning hard, inveighing against abortion and calling for reinstatement of the death penalty. His oratorical flourishes are considered an advantage in some sections, although he is seen as pompous by others.

Hanrahan is considered a master campaigner, but his effort has run into several problems. Insistent on making campaign decisions himself, Hanrahan declined to name a full-time campaign manager, and sources say that has left him poorly organized in many places. And he has been short of funds, some say because of his lukewarm relations with Chicago regulars since he defied Mayor Daley in seeking re-election as state's attorney in 1972. Republican favored.

7th District (Chicago—Downtown, West Side)

Candidates. Incumbent Cardiss W. Collins (D), 43, of Chicago, elected in special election June 5, 1973, with 92.4 per cent of the vote, succeeding her late husband, George W. Collins (D 1970-72); Donald L. Metzger (R), 29, a Chicago attorney.

Outlook. Safe Democratic.

8th District (Chicago—North Central)

Candidates. Incumbent Dan Rostenkowski (D), 46, of Chicago, elected to eighth term in 1972 with 74 per cent; Salvatore E. Oddo (R) of Chicago.

Outlook. Safe Democratic.

9th District (Chicago—Northeast, Lake Shore)

Candidate. Incumbent Sidney R. Yates (D), 65, of Chicago, elected to 12th term in 1972 with 68.3 per cent; no Republican candidate.

Outlook. Safe Democratic.

10th District (Cook County—Northern Suburbs)

Candidates. Incumbent Samuel H. Young (R), 51, of Glenview, elected to first term in 1972 with 51.6 per cent; former U.S. Rep. Abner J. Mikva (D 1969-73), 48, of Evanston.

Outlook. This will be one of the most expensive and bitterly argued contests in the country, with Mikva seeking to reverse the decision that went narrowly against him in the Nixon landslide of 1972. Mikva's old district on Chicago's South Side was eliminated by redistricting that year, and he moved to the suburbs, where the 10th had just been created. Young's charges of carpetbagging were a major issue in 1972, and most observers believe they contributed as much to the result as did any national Republican sentiment.

This year there is no Republican trend, and the carpet-

bag issue has been muted by Mikva's decision to settle in the district permanently. But Young has the advantage of incumbency and is using it effectively—he already has sent nearly a dozen pieces of franked mail to voting households in the district. In public appearances, Young stresses a point that he made in 1972, that Mikva is too liberal for the district.

Mikva is stressing the work he did during his two congressional terms, particularly his efforts toward campaign reform, environmental protection and aid to victims of street crime. He reminds voters that in 1972, Young tied himself to Nixon and Mikva to George McGovern.

Both sides have analyzed the district's politics to the most minute detail and are combing it for every additional vote. The consensus is that the result will be at least as close as in 1972. Young's mailings are considered an important advantage, but Democrats hope this will be offset by the decline of the carpetbag issue and by a reduced Republican turnout in a scandal-ridden non-presidential year. *No clear favorite.*

11th District (Chicago—Northwest Side)

Candidates. Incumbent Frank Annunzio (D), 59, of Chicago, elected to fifth term in 1972 with 53.3 per cent; Mitchell G. Zadrozny (R), 50, a professor at Wright College in Chicago.

Outlook. Annunzio had a relatively close call in 1972, when redistricting forced him from his old West Side constituency into an open district in which he was not well known. But his victory that year over Chicago Alderman John Hoellen, considered the best available Republican nominee, persuaded Republicans not to make Annunzio a target in 1974.

Zadrozny sought the nomination to oppose Annunzio in 1972 and was beaten decisively by Hoellen. Although active in party affairs, he never has held office and has little financial help. Safe Democratic.

12th District (Outer Chicago Suburbs)

Candidates. Incumbent Philip M. Crane (R), 43, of Mount Prospect, elected to second full term in 1972 with 74.2 per cent; Betty C. Spence (D), 39, a Buffalo Grove housewife.

Outlook. Running against a popular incumbent in one of the nation's most Republican districts, Spence has managed to attract interest from the Democratic National Committee and financial help from labor and national liberal organizations. She is expected to do considerably better than Crane's 1972 challenger but is not seen as a threat to his re-election. Safe Republican.

13th District (Northeast—Waukegan)

Candidates. Incumbent Robert McClory (R), 64, of Lake Bluff, elected to sixth term in 1972 with 61.5 per cent; Stanley W. Beetham (D), 40, of Barrington, an economist.

Outlook. McClory has had a busy year, with a serious primary challenge in March and a senior role during the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment debate in July. He came off well in both cases, winning the primary

decisively and taking a split position on the impeachment articles that sources say left a good impression among his constituents, who are as arch-conservative as he is.

All this makes McClory a solid choice over Beetham, even though McClory's 1972 percentage dipped below that of other nearby Republicans in what should have been a good year. Beetham has had difficulty organizing and managing his campaign. Safe Republican.

14th District (Du Page County)

Candidates. Incumbent John N. Erlenborn (R), 47, of Glen Ellyn, elected to fifth term in 1972 with 72.8 per cent; Robert H. Renshaw (D), 40, of Lombard, an economics professor at Northern Illinois University in De Kalb.

Outlook. Safe Republican.

15th District (North Central—Aurora)

Candidates. Former U.S. Rep. Clifford D. Carlson (R 1972-73), 59, a Geneva machine tool manufacturer; Tim L. Hall (D), 49, of Dwight, a coordinator of training programs for the mentally retarded; K. Douglas Lassiter (independent), 28, an Aurora social studies teacher.

Outlook. There is talk of an upset in this rural Republican stronghold, which has not elected a Democratic representative in this century. With a month to go before the election, sources say Hall is on the verge of overtaking Carlson.

Carlson, who served briefly in the 92nd Congress to fill a vacancy, barely won the Republican nomination over several younger rivals after a campaign in which he said his wealth would make him immune to corruption. Since then he has not campaigned actively, appearing mainly before friendly Republican audiences and often avoiding the district's news media.

Hall, meanwhile, has campaigned vigorously throughout the district, building on contacts he made when he ran in 1972 against Republican Rep. Leslie C. Arends. Hall received 42.8 per cent against Arends, who is retiring this year after 40 years in the House.

A gregarious man with a folksy manner and a southern accent, Hall tells voters of his concern for tax justice and a return to moral principles of government. "Perhaps with Watergate," Hall has said, "God is giving America another chance."

But Hall has more than style on his side. He has convinced the Democratic National Committee and the AFL-CIO that he has a chance to win, and he is being given money by both. Glass workers, influential in parts of the district, are all for him. Sources say there is little resemblance between Hall's campaign this year and the shoestring effort he conducted on \$7,000 in 1972.

Carlson has begun to take Hall more seriously, importing California Gov. Ronald Reagan (R) for a fund-raiser and talking more to news people after Nixon's resignation. Sources feel Carlson can still win with a change of attitude, but they warn that he cannot continue to rest his hopes for victory in all-out effort by Republican county chairmen, many of whom opposed him in the primary. No clear favorite.

16th District (Northwest—Rockford)

Candidates. Incumbent John B. Anderson (R), 52, of Rockford, elected to seventh term in 1972 with 71.9 per cent; Marshall Hungness (D), 40, a Rockford driving instructor; W. John Schade Jr. (independent), 54, a Rockford chiropractor.

Outlook. Safe Republican.

17th District (Northwest—Joliet, Kankakee)

Candidates. Incumbent George M. O'Brien (R), 57, of Joliet, elected to first term in 1972 with 55.6 per cent;

former State Rep. John J. Houlihan (D), 51, chairman of the Illinois Veterans' Commission.

Outlook. This is a low-key rematch of the 1972 contest, in which O'Brien won by a modest margin. It will provide a good test of Watergate influence, because apart from the national mood, little has changed here. Both candidates have the same local strengths and weaknesses they had in 1972.

Amnesty has been the most interesting issue so far. Houlihan is a much-decorated World War II veteran who lost his left leg at Bougainville, and he is against President Ford's conditional amnesty proposal. O'Brien supports it, although he says he is "appalled at the arrogant independence" of draft deserters in Canada.

Houlihan's base of support is organized labor; he had a 100 per cent pro-labor voting record in the eight years he served in the Illinois House. O'Brien has a broad base; he will run well in the district's generally Republican rural areas, and he is popular in his hometown, Joliet, which is the district's largest city. Republican favored.

18th District (West Central—Peoria)

Candidates. Incumbent Robert H. Michel (R), 51, of Peoria, elected to ninth term in 1972 with 64.8 per cent; Stephen L. Nordvall (D), 29, a Peoria social studies teacher.

Outlook. Safe Republican.

19th District (West—Rock Island, Moline)

Candidates. Incumbent Tom Railsback (R), 42, of Moline, elected to fifth term in 1972 without opposition; Jim Gende (D), 41, a Moline attorney.

Outlook. Railsback appears to have suffered little damage from his emotional support of Nixon's impeachment during debate in the House Judiciary Committee in July. Gende has made an issue of Railsback's performance on the committee, saying the Republican did not come out against Nixon early enough, but sources say resignation blunted this issue, and the pardon is not enough to sharpen it again. Safe Republican.

20th District (West Central—Springfield, Quincy)

Candidates. Incumbent Paul Findley (R), 53, of Pittsfield, elected to seventh term in 1972 with 68.8 per cent; former U.S. Rep. Peter F. Mack (D 1949-63), 57, of Springfield.

Outlook. This is Mack's attempt to reverse a 12-year-old verdict. Both men were House members in 1962, and their constituencies were thrown together by redistricting. Findley defeated Mack that fall by 11,000 votes. It appears likely that he will defeat him again this year, probably by a wider margin.

Mack is running as the working man's candidate, arguing that Findley has favored special interests and done little to help the family farmer. He says the incumbent tends to vote on both sides of major issues to please diverse elements of the constituency.

But Findley is well known and personally popular in the district, and Mack's familiarity has faded for most voters after 12 years outside public life. He is not thought to have the financial help necessary to match Findley's exposure. Safe Republican.

21st District (Central—Bloomington, Decatur)

Candidates. Incumbent Edward R. Madigan (R), 38, of Lincoln, elected to first term in 1972 with 54.8 per cent; Richard N. Small (D), 38, of Leroy, the assistant state superintendent of schools.

Outlook. This district is technically marginal, but Madigan is in little trouble, because Democrats have not run as strong a challenger as they did in 1972. Madigan's rival that year was Lawrence Johnson, a Champaign Coun-

ty prosecutor who was popular among the University of Illinois community in Champaign.

Small is rurally based, does not have nearly as much student help as Johnson had and is not considered as good a campaigner. Small's most important help is likely to come from organized labor in Decatur, particularly the United Auto Workers.

Madigan has stressed constituent service during his two years in office and has tried to present a moderate enough approach to avoid hostility in the university community. Safe Republican.

22nd District (Southeast—Danville)

Candidates. Incumbent George E. Shipley (D), 47, of Olney, elected to eighth term in 1972 with 56.5 per cent; William A. Young (R), 42, a Danville attorney.

Outlook. Shipley is a perennial Republican target, but a perennial winner nevertheless. In 1972, when Republicans added new territory to the district in an effort to get rid of him, he responded with his most convincing victory in recent years.

This year, Republicans have come up with another potentially serious challenge. Young is a former party chairman in Vermilion County (Danville), which is heavily Republican and was added to the district in 1972, but which Shipley managed to carry that year against Republican Robert Lamkin. Sources say Young is well organized in Vermilion and is likely to carry it.

But Shipley's strength is further south, in the district's rural counties. He has represented most of these for 15 years and is well known in them. His rural campaigning plays down a national Democratic identification and plays up the things that Shipley's senior position on the Appropriations Committee can do for the district. Local politicians expect Young to draw a fairly high percentage districtwide, based on his strength in Danville, but few of them are betting against Shipley. Democrat favored.

23rd District (Southwest—East St. Louis)

Candidates. Incumbent Melvin Price (D), 69, of East St. Louis, elected to 15th term in 1972 with 75.1 per cent; Scott Randolph (R), 43, an East St. Louis teacher.

Outlook. Safe Democratic.

24th District (South—Carbondale)

Candidates. Former Lt. Gov. Paul Simon (D), 45, of Carbondale; Val Oshel (R), 48, a former mayor of Harrisburg.

Outlook. Simon, heavily favored in 1972 to become governor of Illinois, was surprised in a primary by Daniel Walker, who went on to win the office himself. This year Simon is seeking to replace retiring Rep. Kenneth J. Gray (D), and again he is the favorite.

This time, however, he is not taking his opponent for granted. Simon started early and has been campaigning hard, talking of ways to help the district's depressed coal industry. He has the strong support of the United Mine Workers.

Oshel has been using the carpetbag issue, pointing out that Simon is actually from Troy, a few miles outside the district's border. Oshel, a former state director of civil defense, has sought to increase his name recognition by distributing to voters a record on which he sings "America the Beautiful."

Oshel ran for the House once before, in 1968, when the district was more Republican than it is now, and lost by 17,000 votes. Most sources believe Simon is too well known and well liked for Oshel to do much better than that this time. Democrat favored.

EDITORIALS *Continued from page 6*

median, isn't it? It's fairly typical..." Then he joined his three white colleagues in voting in favor of the Jefferson Bank. (The bill was later passed 21:6.)

Nuclear plants for Missouri?

One of the most important decisions Missouri faces in this decade, if not in this century, is currently in the hands of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Missouri Public Service Commission.

Both bodies will play a role in deciding whether Union Electric Company will be allowed to build and operate two 1.15 million kilowatt nuclear power plants near Fulton in Callaway County. The Atomic Energy Commission must grant a federal license for all nuclear fission plants; the Public Service Commission, as the state's regulator of public utilities, must authorize Union Electric to build and operate the plant.

Though both commissions are public regulatory bodies, neither is known for its over-exertion in playing the watchdog role. Thus the need for citizen action on the issue, and several environmental groups are already working against Union Electric's proposal.

Unfortunately, in its "A to Z" promotional mentality which sees all development as good, the City of St. Louis intervened before the state commission in behalf of the utility. Such action was taken on behalf of St. Louis's citizenry without any consultation with those citizens to see whether they wish to take the risk of the catastrophic devastation posed by the possibility of accident or blackmail at nuclear fission plants.

Of course, industry spokesmen discount the risks, but they have by no means disproved them. And critics contend that even if it were possible to build a completely "safe" nuclear fission plant, the radioactive materials emitted from such plants are greater than the AEC and the industry admit.

More and more evidence is also coming to light to suggest that even if nuclear fission plants were perfectly safe, cleaner and more efficient means for producing energy are possible. But, the critics note, the government has been putting most of its money for research into the nuclear fission method and the private utilities spend more money on promotion and advertising than they do on research and development.

Dr. John W. Gofman, an M.D. and a Ph.D. in nuclear-physical chemistry, claims that a major nuclear reactor accident could result in the deaths of 5 million and injure as many. And Dr. Gofman, a spokesman for the Committee for Nuclear Responsibility, charges that under the present hearing process followed by the AEC "concerned citizens have been led, like lambs to the slaughter, into the promoters' arena." This is so, he says, because the hearings are concerned only with the merits of the plant plans proposed rather than with the question of whether nuclear fission plants should be built at all.

"But," Dr. Gofman, says, "this is no technical controversy that can be resolved by a debate on the merits of specific gadgets in the nuclear power industry. What is really at issue is a moral question — the right of one generation of humans to take upon itself the arrogance of possibly compromising the earth as a habitable place for this and essentially all future generations."

The following U.S. Senate and U.S. House Votes were cast during the Second Session of the 93rd (1974) Congress.

KEY TO SYMBOLS USED IN DESCRIPTION OF BILLS

D: Democrat
R: Republican
HR: House Bill
S: Senate Bill
H Res: House Resolution
ND: Northern Democrats
SD: Southern Democrats

KEY TO SYMBOLS USED IN VOTING COLUMNS

Y: Voted for
✓: Paired for
†: Announced for
N: Voted against
X: Paired against
-: Announced against
P: Voted "present"
•: Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest
?: Did not vote or otherwise make a position known

1974 U.S. HOUSE VOTES on Senate and House Bills

HR 14354. National School Lunch Program. Perkins (D Ky.) motion to suspend the rules and adopt the conference report on the bill to extend through fiscal 1975 the agriculture secretary's authority to purchase food commodities for school lunch programs at non-surplus prices and to make use of the authority mandatory. Motion agreed to 345-15: R 147-14; D 198-1 (ND 132-0; SD 66-1), June 17, 1974. A two-thirds majority vote (240 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules. The President did not take a position.

HR 15296. Legal Training for Disadvantaged Students. O'Hara (D Mich.) motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to continue education assistance of \$1,000 a year to disadvantaged students seeking entry into the legal profession. Motion agreed to 310-53: R 125-37; D 185-16 (ND 132-2; SD 53-14), June 17, 1974. A two-thirds majority vote (242 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules. The President did not take a position.

HR 15361. Housing and Community Development. Steele (R Conn.) amendment to reinstate a low-interest direct loan program for unsubsidized, non-profit developers of housing for the elderly and to make occupants of housing constructed under the program eligible for federal rent subsidies. Adopted 274-112: R 116-51; D 158-61 (ND 119-27; SD 39-34), June 20, 1974. The President did not take a position.

S 3203. Hospital Employee Bargaining Rights. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to remove the exemption from coverage under the National Labor Relations Act of all nonprofit, nongovernmental hospitals and to establish certain labor relations procedures for all nongovernmental health care institutions, including the right to strike only if 10 days notice were given. Adopted (and thus cleared for the President) 205-193: R 38-140; D 167-53 (ND 140-5; SD 27-48), July 11, 1974. The President did not take a position.

HR 11500. Surface Mining. Kazen (D Texas) amendment deleting language to restrict strip mining permits for Appalachia to two years, thus retaining a blanket five-year period for permits. Adopted 213-193: R 128-52; D 85-141 (ND 26-125; SD 59-16), July 23, 1974. The President did not take a position.

HR 11500. Surface Mining. Hosmer (R

Calif.) motion to recommit the bill to the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee with instructions to substitute provisions of an alternative bill (HR 12898) imposing less stringent environmental safeguards on surface mining and reclamation programs. Rejected 106-267: R 77-93; D 29-174 (ND 5-134; SD 24-40), July 25, 1974. The President did not take a position.

HR 11500. Surface Mining. Passage of the bill to set federal guidelines for the regulation of surface mining for coal and for the reclamation of land that had been strip mined. Passed 291-81: R 120-50; D 171-31 (ND 132-5; SD 39-26), July 25, 1974. The President did not take a position.

HR 14592. Defense Procurement Authorization. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to authorize \$22,159,364,000 for defense procurement, research and development for fiscal 1975. Adopted 305-38: R 151-2; D 154-36 (ND 94-35; SD 60-1), July 29, 1974. The President did not take a position.

HR 15472. Agricultural, Environmental and Consumer Protection Appropriations, Fiscal 1975. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to appropriate \$13,571,395,000 for agriculture, environmental and consumer protection programs for fiscal 1975. Adopted 351-41: R 140-35; D 211-6 (ND 144-3; SD 67-3), July 30, 1974. The President had requested \$13,432,863,100.

S 386. Urban Mass Transit Subsidies. Wylie (R Ohio) motion to recommit, and thus kill, the bill to the conference committee. Motion agreed to 221-181: R 138-39; D 83-142 (ND 31-122; SD 52-20), July 30, 1974. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

HR 69. Elementary and Secondary Education Act Extension. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to extend and amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and related education programs and to declare that students should not be bused beyond the school next closest to their homes, but allowing the courts to order more extensive busing to protect the civil rights of individuals as guaranteed under the Constitution. Adopted 323-83: R 136-47; D 187-36 (ND 137-10; SD 50-26), July 31, 1974. The President did not take a position.

HR 15582. International Nuclear Agreements. Long (D Md.) amendment to require approval by Congress before international agreements for peaceful cooperation in nuclear technology could take effect. (The bill as reported would have required specific disapproval by Congress to block an agreement.) Adopted 194-191: R

54-123; D 140-68 (ND 111-29; SD 29-39), July 31, 1974. The President did not take a position.

H Res 1258. Chemical Warfare Policy Review. Zablocki (D Wis.) motion to suspend the rules and pass the resolution expressing the sense of the House that the 1925 Geneva Protocol should be ratified by the Senate and that the United States should review its policies on chemical warfare. Motion agreed to 315-70: R 121-50; D 194-20 (ND 141-2; SD 53-18), Aug. 5, 1974. A two-thirds majority vote (257 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules. The President did not take a position.

HR 16243. Defense Appropriations, Fiscal 1975. Giaimo (D Conn.) amendment to reduce funds for the Safeguard ABM system by cutting \$37.5-million from Army operation and maintenance funds and \$45-million from funds for research and development. Rejected 182-219: R 45-135; D 137-84 (ND 119-25; SD 18-59), Aug. 6, 1974. The President did not take a position.

HR 16243. Defense Appropriations, Fiscal 1975. Hicks (D Wash.) amendment to delete \$5.8-million for binary nerve gas production facilities at Pine Bluff Arsenal, Ark. Adopted 214-186: R 70-111; D 144-75 (ND 129-16; SD 15-59), Aug. 6, 1974. The President did not take a position.

HR 16243. Defense Appropriations, Fiscal 1975. Flynt (D Ga.) amendment to reduce funds for military assistance to South Vietnam by \$300-million, to a total of \$700-million. Adopted 233-157: R 68-108; D 165-49 (ND 127-12; SD 38-37) Aug. 6, 1974. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

HR 16243. Defense Appropriations, Fiscal 1975. Addabbo (D N.Y.) amendment to limit defense spending for fiscal 1975 to \$81.2-billion. Rejected 178-216: R 46-133; D 132-83 (ND 115-24; SD 17-59), Aug. 6, 1974. The President did not take a position.

HR 16243. Defense Appropriations, Fiscal 1975. Passage of the bill to appropriate \$83,393,570,000 for Defense Department activities and all armed services and weapons programs for fiscal 1975. Passed 350-43: R 170-7; D 180-36 (ND 105-34; SD 75-2), Aug. 6, 1974. The President had requested \$87,057,497,000.

HR 16090. Federal Elections Campaign Act. Second vote requested by Brademas (D Ind.) on Frenzel (R Minn.) amendment to delete the provisions for public financing of presidential nominating conventions. Amendment rejected 205-206: R 174-7; D 31-199 (ND 4-149; SD 27-50), Aug. 8, 1974. The President did not take a position.

HR 16090. Federal Elections Campaign Act. Passage of the bill to provide for public financing of presidential election campaigns, impose campaign spending and contribution limits, and establish a board of supervisors to oversee and administer the law. Passed 355-48: R 136-45; D 219-3 (ND 148-0; SD 71-3), Aug. 8, 1974. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

HR 12859. Urban Mass Transit. Milford (D Texas) amendment to cut from the \$20.4-billion mass transit authorization bill a provision for federal operating subsidies for existing mass transit systems. Rejected

1974 U.S. HOUSE VOTES

REPRESENTATIVES	HR 14354	HR 15296	HR 15361	S 3203	aHR 11500	bHR 11500	cHR 11500	HR 14592	HR 15473	S 386	HR 69	HR 15582	HR 1258	aHR 16243	bHR 16243	cHR 16243	dHR 16243	eHR 16243	aHR 16090	bHR 16090	aHR 12859	bHR 12859	cHR 12859	dHR 12859
ILLINOIS																								
Metcalfe (D-1)	?	?	Y	?	N	N	Y	X	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Murphy (D-2)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hanrahan (R-3)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Derwinski (R-4)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kluczynski (D-5)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	X	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Collier (R-6)	?	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Collins (D-7)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Rostenkowski (D-8)	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Yates (D-9)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Young (R-10)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Annuizio (D-11)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Crane (R-12)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
McClory (R-13)	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Erlenborn (R-14)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Arends (R-15)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	X	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Anderson (R-16)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
O'Brien (R-17)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Michel (R-18)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Railsback (R-18)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Findley (R-20)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Madigan (R-21)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Shipley (D-22)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Price (D-23)	?	?	Y	?	Y	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Gray (D-24)	?	?	Y	?	Y	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?

MISSOURI

Clay (D-1)	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	X	X	X	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	X	N	Y	?	?	N	Y
Symington (D-2)	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	N	Y
Sullivan (D-3)	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Randall (D-4)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Bolling (D-5)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Litton (D-6)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Taylor (R-7)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Ichor (D-8)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Hungate (D-9)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Burlison (D-10)	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	

1974 U.S. SENATE VOTES

SENATORS	S 3203	aS 707	bS 707	aHR 15472	bHR 15472	aHR 69	bHR 69	cS 707	dHR 15472	eS 707	HR 16027	eS 707	aHR 16243	bHR 16243	aS 3934	bS 3934	S Res. 401	aHR 15580	bHR 15580	S 3221	fS 707	S 3585
ILLINOIS																						
Stevenson (D)	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?
Percy (R)	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	-	?	?	?	?	?	?	X	Y
MISSOURI																						
Eagleton (D)	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Symington (D)	Y	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	?

197-202: R 136-40; D 61-162 (ND 18-133; SD 43-29), Aug. 15, 1974. The President did not take a position.

^bHR 12859 Urban Mass Transit. Synder (R Ky.) amendment to provide that no funds authorized in the bill were to be used to transport students or teachers for the purpose of correcting racial imbalances in schools. Adopted 243-149: R 135-41; D 108-108 (ND 51-98; SD 57-10), Aug. 15, 1974. The President did not take a position.

^cHR 12859 Mass Transit. Harsha (R Ohio) amendment, in the form of a substitute for the Roberts (D Texas) amendment, to reduce the total authorization in the bill

from \$20.4-billion to \$11.4-billion. (The original Roberts amendment sought to reduce the authorization to \$15.8-billion.) Adopted 257-155: R 165-19; D 92-136 (ND 36-117; SD 56-19), Aug. 20, 1974. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position. (The Roberts amendment, as amended by the Harsha amendment, was subsequently adopted by voice vote.)

^dHR 12859 Mass Transit. Passage of the bill to authorize \$11.4-billion in fiscal years 1975-80 for mass transit capital and operating subsidies. Passed 324-92: R 122-63; D 202-29 (ND 149-6; SD 53-23), Aug. 20, 1974. The President did not take a position.

1974 U.S. SENATE VOTES on Senate and House Bills

S 3203. Hospital Employee Bargaining Rights. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to remove the exemption from coverage under the National Labor Relations Act of all nonprofit, nongovernmental hospitals and to establish certain labor relations procedures for all nongovernmental health care institutions, including the right to strike only if 10 days notice were given. Adopted 64-29: R 18-22; D 46-7 (ND 36-4; SD 10-3), July 10, 1974. The President did not take a position.

^aS 707 Consumer Protection Agency. Allen (D Ala.) motion to table (and thus kill) the bill to establish an independent, non-regulatory agency to represent consumer interests before other federal agencies and the courts. Motion rejected 25-66: R 16-23; D 9-43 (ND 0-37; SD 9-6), July 16, 1974. The President did not take a position.

^bS 707 Consumer Protection Agency. First Government Operations Committee amendment to prohibit the Consumer Protection Agency from intervening in activities related to labor disputes involving wages or working conditions affecting health or safety. Rejected 40-57: R 29-13; D 11-44 (ND 0-40; SD 11-4), July 17, 1974. The President did not take a position.

^aHR 15472 Food Stamps For Strikers. Agricultural, Environmental and Consumer Protection Appropriations, Fiscal 1975. Helms (R N.C.) amendment to make households of striking workers ineligible for food stamps unless the family qualified for the program before the strike started. Rejected 35-52: R 22-13; D 13-39 (ND 1-38; SD 12-1), July 22, 1974. The President did not take a position.

HR 5472. Agricultural, Environmental and Consumer Protection Appropriations, Fiscal 1975. Passage of the bill to appropriate \$13,567,352,300 for agriculture, environmental and consumer protection programs for fiscal 1975. Passed 71-16: R 23-11; D 48-5 (ND 37-2; SD 11-3), July 22, 1974. The President had requested \$13,432,863,100.

^aHR 69 Busing. Elementary and Secondary Education Act Extension. Allen (D Ala.) motion to recommit the conference report with specific instructions to Senate conferees to recede and accept the stronger anti-busing House language for the purpose of desegregating public schools. Motion defeated 42-55: R 22-17; D 20-38 (ND 5-37; SD 15-1), July 24, 1974. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

^bHR 69 Elementary and Secondary Education Act Extension. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to extend and amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and related education programs and to declare that students should not be bused beyond the school next closest to their homes, but allowing the courts to order more extensive busing to protect the civil rights of individuals as guaranteed by the Constitution. Passed 81-15: R 28-11; D 53-4 (ND 42-0; SD 11-4), July 24, 1974. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

^cS 707 Consumer Protection Agency. Abourezk (D S.D.) motion to invoke cloture (cut off debate) on the bill to estab-

lish a semi-independent Consumer Protection Agency to represent consumer interests before federal agencies and courts. Motion rejected 56-42: R 14-26; D 42-16 (ND 39-3; SD 3-13), July 30, 1974. A two-thirds majority vote (66 in this case) is required to invoke cloture. The President did not take a position.

^bHR 15472. Agricultural, Environmental and Consumer Protection Appropriations, Fiscal 1975. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to appropriate \$13,571,395,000 for agriculture, environmental and consumer protection programs for fiscal 1975. Adopted 67-26: R 23-15; D 44-11 (ND 35-6; SD 9-5), July 30, 1974. The President had requested \$13,432,863,100.

^dS 707. Consumer Protection Agency. Abourezk (D S.D.) motion to invoke cloture (cut off debate) on the bill to establish an independent agency to represent consumers before other federal agencies and courts. Motion rejected 59-39: R 15-25; D 44-14 (ND 39-3; SD 5-11), Aug. 1, 1974. A two-thirds majority vote (66 in this case) is required to invoke cloture. The President did not take a position.

HR 16027. Herbicides. Interior Department Appropriations, Fiscal 1975. Nelson (D Wis.) amendment to prohibit use of the herbicide 2,4,5-T in the National Forest System with funds appropriated in the bill. Rejected 34-56: R 7-31; D 27-25 (ND 21-16; SD 6-9), Aug. 7, 1974. The President did not take a position.

^eS 707 Consumer Protection Agency. Ribicoff (D Conn.) motion to invoke cloture (cut off debate) on the bill to establish an independent agency to represent consumers before other federal agencies and courts. Motion rejected 59-35: R 17-22; D 42-13 (ND 38-1; SD 4-12), Aug. 20, 1974. A two-thirds majority vote (63 in this case) is

required to invoke cloture. The President did not take a position.

S 3934. Highway Authorization. Staffor (R Vt.) amendment to delete a provision to allow an increase in the maximum permissible weight for trucks using interstate highways to 80,000 pounds from 73,280 pounds. Rejected 24-59: R 13-19; D 11-40 (ND 9-28; SD 2-12), Sept. 11, 1974. The President did not take a position.

S 3934. Highway Authorization. Buckley (Cons-R N.Y.) amendment to make the auto seat belt interlock system optional rather than mandatory. Adopted 64-21: R 26-7; D 38-14 (ND 24-14; SD 14-0), Sept. 11, 1974. The President did not take a position. (The Buckley amendment was subsequently reconsidered and then withdrawn because its text was included in an auto safety bill, HR 5529).

S Res 401. Watergate Pardon. Adoption of the Byrd (D W.Va.) resolution expressing the sense of the Senate that no pardon under Section 2, Article II, of the Constitution should be granted in the future to any individual accused of any crime arising out of the 1972 presidential election campaign before that individual was indicted, tried, and, if convicted, had exhausted all appeals of his sentence. Adopted 55-24: R 6-13; D 39-11 (ND 34-3; SD 5-8), Sept. 12, 1974. The President did not take a position.

^aHR 15580 Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1975. Helms (R N.C.) amendment to prohibit any funds in the bill from being used to bus any students or to transfer teachers, to overcome racial imbalance in public schools or to carry out a plan of racial desegregation. Adopted 45-42: R 24-13; D 21-29 (ND 7-29; SD 14-0), Sept. 17, 1974. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

^bHR 15580. Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1975. Hathaway (D Maine) motion

to table, and thus kill, Bartlett (R Okla.) amendment to prohibit any funds in the bill from being used to pay for abortions or to encourage the performance of abortions except to save the life of a mother. Motion to table rejected 34-50: R 14-22; D 20-28 (ND 18-18; SD 2-10), Sept. 17, 1974. The President did not take a position. (The Bartlett amendment was subsequently adopted by voice vote.)

S 3221. Outer Continental Shelf Resources. Johnston (D La.) motion to table, and thus kill, the Bartlett (R Okla.) amendment to delete sections of the bill that would establish a Coastal States Fund and permit citizens to bring civil suits for alleged violations of the act. Motion agreed to 61-29: R 17-20; D 44-9 (ND 32-5; SD 12-4), Sept. 18, 1974. The President did not take a position.

^fS 707 Consumer Protection Agency. Ribicoff (D Conn.) motion to invoke cloture (cut off debate) on the bill to establish an independent agency to represent consumers before other federal agencies and courts. Motion rejected 64-34: R 20-22; D 44-12 (ND 40-1; SD 4-11), Sept. 19, 1974. A two-thirds majority vote (66 in this case) is required to invoke cloture. The President did not take a position.

S 3585. Health Manpower Programs. Beall (R Md.) amendment, in the nature of a substitute bill, to authorize \$2.1-billion in fiscal 1975-77 for health manpower programs and to require medical schools to reserve 25 percent of the positions in their freshman classes for students who volunteered to practice in rural and inner-city areas in exchange for scholarships. Adopted 70-18: R 37-0; D 33-18 (ND 18-18; SD 15-0), Sept. 24, 1974. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

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